

June 1956

Fellowship



WOMAN OF MONTGOMERY

Revolutionist, 1956

The Dilemma of the Scientist

by J. Bronowski

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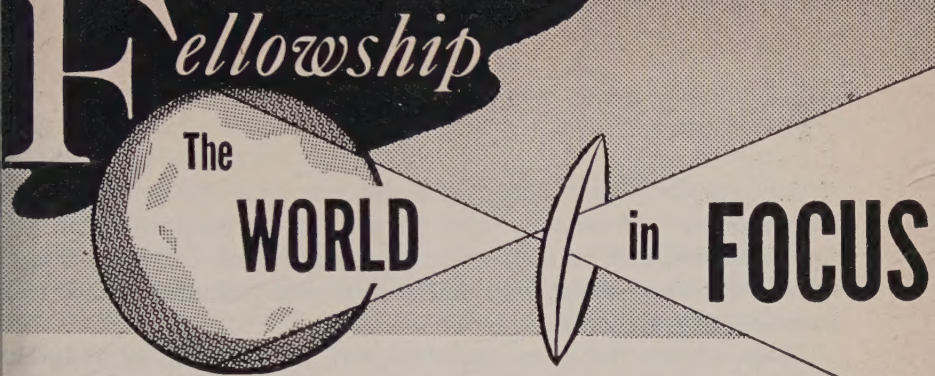
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The
WORLD
in
FOCUS

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■ JUNE 1956

Backyard Revolution

American pacifists—and others—have been trying to tell their countrymen that they live in a time of revolution. A billion people are no longer resigned to the status of poor relations and servants: hungry, often homeless, often ill, the wealth of their lands and labor appropriated by their richer and stronger neighbors, themselves looked down on and excluded because of color or other trivial differences. Deal with the legitimate wants of these millions in penitence and love, we have said, before the world is racked with a war born of their desperation.

Now, to add emphasis to the point, the revolution has come to America's own backyard. All over the country, and particularly in the South, Negroes are rising against their own special kinds of humiliation and exploitation. They will not be stopped. No pleas to "go slow" will move a people who have gone slow for a century and are fed up with it. Economic pressure, White Citizens' Councils, even outright terror may delay it, but they cannot stop it. This is the first thing that whites—pacifists and non-pacifists, Northerners and Southerners—have to recognize.

The second thing is that men of good will north of the Mason and Dixon line need not moderate their indignation against race discrimination, but they may need to redirect it. Segregation in housing is worse in the North than in the South; many a white pacifist lives in a community that will not accept Negro neighbors, and we have yet to hear of thousands of consumer coopera-

tive members, among whom pacifists bulk large, expressing outrage and shame over the decision of Nationwide (formerly Farm Bureau) Insurance Companies to bar Negroes from the Lincoln Village cooperative housing development near Columbus, Ohio. Discrimination in employment, in hotel accommodations, in resort facilities, still is strong; only a handful of northern states have legislation effectively outlawing discriminatory practices based on race or color.

These, and the fact that there are still only a handful of interracial churches in the North, make up a sizable beam to be plucked out of an eye before it can look clearly and without shame at the struggling masses in the South.

The Pacifist Role

None of this means, of course, that Northerners have no responsibility in the major engagement of the revolution in the South. Pacifists particularly have a tremendous responsibility, and an opportunity as well.

Two pictures in this issue suggest what that responsibility is. The cover photograph of a woman praying, taken at one of the famous mass meetings in Montgomery, is one of them. For this is no ordinary revolt sparked by a handful of youthful radicals. Like the Gandhian revolution in India, Montgomery's is a movement that has enlisted the people, and that has a profoundly religious—in this case profoundly Christian—base. Because pacifists



WILSON RILES (far left), regional secretary of the FOR in the Southwest, leads a group of students in a seminar on nonviolence and its relevance in the present struggle for equal rights. Photograph was taken by National Field Secretary GLENN SMILEY, who shared leadership with Riles in seminars at several Negro colleges in Deep South.

believe that only this kind of base can produce both revolution and reconciliation, we need to rejoice in it and pray that this emphasis grows steadily stronger.

The second picture (opposite page) shows an FOR staff member leading a seminar in nonviolence in a southern Negro college. Rejoicing and prayer are not enough—it is a time for action, too, and in no way can the Fellowship contribute more effectively now than to contribute to an understanding of the methods and meaning of nonviolent action. For this is the real issue in the revolution in our backyard: not whether it will be waged, but how it will be waged. If violence carries the day, the aftermath of bitterness and hatred that has characterized the years since Reconstruction will be repeated; if nonviolence is chosen, then the way will be open to understanding and reconciliation.

Unilateral Russians

Pacifists have been saying for a long time that unilateral disarmament would be not only the morally right thing to do, but that it would also have an enormous political impact in the “struggle for men’s minds” between the totalitarians and the “democrats.” They were talking, of course, to Americans; no one really thought the Russians were listening!

But look what’s happened!

First, in the wake of the break-up of the disarmament discussions, a dispatch appeared in the *New York Times* commenting on the “uneasiness” of American officials over the possibility that the Russians might pull a fast one by disarming unilaterally. This, it was observed soberly, would not only reap a huge harvest of favorable world opinion, but would also increase the difficulty of American insistence on inspection of Soviet arms.

Then the Russians announced that they were reducing their armed forces by 1,200,000 men. The reactions of the “free world,” as gleaned from press reports, were:

- 1) The Bonn (West German) government was “frightened by the scope and speed of the Soviet political offensive.” The announced demobilization “crushed [its] hope to hold a veto over any East-West reduction of armament agreement as long as the Soviet vetoed reunification.”

2) Secretary of State Dulles took a "skeptical and broadly negative view" of the move. Although his department had had three weeks' advance notice, reports the *Times*, "there was no agreed administration attitude on the Soviet cut, except for the consistent caution, tinged with gloom, that characterized Mr. Dulles' remarks."

3) Other Administration leaders took different views "*but there was no rejoicing here.*" (Emphasis ours.) A \$35-billion "defense" appropriation request and a \$5-billion foreign aid (mostly military) request are currently before Congress, and the Administration "fears" economy moves that might result from the Russians' inconsiderate action.

4) Various American military leaders, editorialists and politicians warned against falling into this new Soviet "trap," and suggested a variety of ingenious ways in which the proposed cut in force actually makes the Communists a greater threat than they were before.

This would seem to be the point for pacifists, taking heart from the obvious, though unexpected confirmation of their previous predictions, to make some additional suggestions:

1) It is quite reasonable to doubt that the Soviets have embraced nonviolence as a way of life, or that they plan to eliminate military strength from their future plans. It takes a bit of doing, however, to see a cut of a million men as a frightening new threat of military aggression.

2) In the "struggle for men's minds" the Soviets have won a big round. The dimensions of their victory increase with each report of the "gloom" with which an apparent move away from war is greeted by U.S. officials. A more imaginative response would have been to say, "Great! We'll match every move in this direction they make—and offer to double it—with the provision that neutral observers check on the sincerity of both of us!"

How to Win Friends, etc. . .

Hard on the heels of the Soviet announcement of demobilization of 1,200,000 men, the United States exploded another H-bomb in the Pacific (stet) Ocean.

THE DILEMMA



"We sit at conference tables; we have become important people—because we happen to be able to be murderers."

of the SCIENTIST

BY J. BRONOWSKI

WE LIVE in times of difficult decisions for scientists, for statesmen and for the lay public. Many of these decisions are forced on us by new scientific discoveries, and the difficulties in making them are created by the distance between the scientist and the public. (Indeed, there is a frightening distance even between scientists in one field and those in another.) This sense of distance is, I think, a grave threat to the survival of the kind of society in which science can flourish at all.

People hate scientists. There is no use in beating about the bush here. The scientist is in danger of becoming the scapegoat for the helplessness which the public feels.

And if an immense revulsion of public feeling does lead to the destruction of the scientific tradition, then the world may again enter a dark age as it did after the Goths destroyed Rome. It is not impossible that the whole mechanical and intellectual society which we know could be abolished by a great wave of fanaticism.

That is the danger which faces us, because people hate scientists. But even if this danger does not come to pass, something as terrible can happen—and is happening. This is that the scientist is forced, by the hatred of public opinion, to side with established authority and government. He becomes a prisoner of the hatred of the lay public,

and by that becomes the tool of authority.

My purpose here is not to underline these obvious dangers, which we may hide from ourselves but which in our hearts we all know to exist. My purpose is to try and give a picture, as I see it, of the real responsibilities of scientists, government and public, in order that, beginning from this diagnosis, we may begin to cure the great and threatening division between them.

The Scientist's Culpability

What the lay public does when it hates the scientist is what it does also when it hates policemen and ministers of state and all symbols of authority. It tries to shift the responsibility for decisions from its own shoulders to the shoulders of other people. "They have done this," the public says. And "they" is always the law, the government—or, in this case, the scientist.

You must allow me here to make a digression which is not strictly part of my theme, but which I think needs saying. It is this: that we must not forget that scientists do bear a heavy responsibility. I am, of course about to explain that really the public and governments bear the main responsibility. But this does not shift from us, the scientists, the grave onus of having acquiesced in the abuse of science. We have contrived weapons and policies with our public conscience, which each of us individually would never have undertaken with his private conscience. Men are only murderers in large groups. They do not individually go out and strangle their neighbor. And scientists are only murderers in large groups—collectively. For scientists are very ordinary human

beings. Any collection of people in any laboratory contains good and bad, people with consciences and without, and what we have allowed to happen is the conquest of science by that minority without conscience which exists in every group.

It is sad that we scientists have been exceptionally corruptible. Most of us have come from poor parents. We have worked our own way up. The practice of science has enabled us to earn salaries which would be unthinkable to us if we had stayed peddling whatever our fathers peddled. Quite suddenly, the possession of a special skill has opened to us a blue door into the antechambers of prime ministers. We sit at conference tables; we have become important people—because we happen to be able to be murderers. And therefore scientists have been bought with large salaries and fellowships and rewards quite inappropriate to their merits, because a policy was furthered by their techniques. The scientist has proved to be the easiest of all men to blind with the attractions of public life.

The People's Responsibility

But when the public dreams of a strike, when it says "scientists ought not to have invented this or disclosed that secret," it is already demanding something of the individual scientist which lies beyond his personal responsibility.

The individual scientist is not the keeper of the public conscience, because that is not what he was chosen for. The population at large, through its government, has chosen scientists to execute certain public orders which are thought to represent the public will. And you cannot ask the scientist to be executioner of this will, and judge as well. If you have given a body of

scientists this particular hangman's task, you cannot ask them also to form a collective opposition to it. The collective responsibility belongs to the lay public and, through that, to those who were elected by that public to carry it out.

Thus when Einstein, on August 2, 1939, wrote a letter to President Roosevelt, in order to draw his attention to the possibility of an atomic bomb, he was acting with exemplary correctness. He was disclosing to the elected head of government a matter of public importance on which the decision was not his but the President's.

We must explain to people that they are asking of scientists quite the wrong collective decisions when they say "you should not have invented this" or "you should not have disclosed that." This is asking us all to betray the public in the same way as Dr. Klaus Fuchs did, by asking scientists to make decisions which are for the nation to make. The only man in England who ever, on his own responsibility, was willing to shoulder public responsibility in this way was Dr. Fuchs. But so far from being hailed as the only sane scientist, he was treated as quite the opposite—as of course he was, since scientists have no right to betray the will of the nation. Yet Fuchs did just what the public asks of every scientist—he decided what to do with a scientific invention.

Conscience and Government

Very well. We will agree that the scientist is not the keeper of the nation's policy. Then what is he the keeper of? He is the keeper of his own private conscience. His responsibility is not to be seduced as a person. He has the right to act individually as a conscientious ob-

jector. Indeed, I believe he has the *duty* to act as a conscientious objector. In England, as in most other countries, it is a criminal offense to betray the armed forces or to seduce their members from their allegiance. It is not a criminal offense to refuse to be a soldier. I believe that this indicates the position of the scientist. He has no business to act as if he commands the army, but he has a business to settle with his own conscience: the serious business of whether he personally will engage in forms of research of which he does not morally approve.

My claim then is that the individual scientist should exercise his own personal conscience. This is his duty. What is the duty of governments in this respect? It is to make it possible for him to exercise his conscience. The responsibility of governments in this is to create the conditions in which a scientist can say "no" to projects in which he does not want to take part. He must even be able to give advice which is distasteful to those in authority, and still must not be hounded out of public life, or prevented from making a living.

In all countries the serious threat to scientists who have once touched the fringes of secret subjects is that they are then caught in something from which they can never escape again. They do not get a passport, for somebody might abduct them. They cannot get a job because, if they do not want to continue to do secret work, then they are too dangerous or awkward to be trusted with anything else. This is what we must prevent governments from doing, and this can only be prevented by the opinion of quite ordinary citizens. This is the duty which citizens owe to scientists, to

insist that governments shall make it possible for scientists to be conscientious objectors if they wish.

Judgment Requires Information

The responsibility of the public is to make the decisions of policy on which their future depends, and to make them themselves. And in a democracy the apparatus for this is to elect those people in whose judgment you have confidence—and to elect them on the issues which in fact face the world. Now you can only elect such people, you can only put pressure on them about public issues, if you are well-informed. The greatest lack in public opinion today is lack of information about what is possible and not possible in science.

The public must be well-informed; and the public gets not only the government it deserves, but the newspapers it deserves.

If this is once granted, the next step, I think, is simple. If we believe in democratic election—and concede that in our generation this can only be carried out by a public informed on the scientific issues on which the fate of nations hangs—then the duty of the scientist is clear. The duty of the scientist is to inform the public, to create the public opinion for right policies. This he can only create if the public shares his knowledge.

Scientists ought to spend the bulk of their time—alas—not in laboratories at all, but in explaining to the voting public what is going on in laboratories. What are the choices which face us? What could be done with antibiotics, with new materials, with coal (if you like) and with alternative forms of energy? These are urgent questions and yet, however many times

we raise them, the layman still does not understand the scale of the changes which our work is making, and on which the answers hang.

The Free Mind

It is the duty of the government as I have pointed out, to give the public the opportunity to learn, and therefore to give scientists the opportunity to teach. It is the government's duty to give scientists freedom to live their own lives if they do not want to go on with research projects which seem to them without conscience. The other is the duty to allow scientists to speak freely on subjects of world importance.

As for the second, everyone who has ever been connected with the Atomic Energy projects knows how it is met today. We spend our time waiting for some American journalist to publish some piece of information which we know to be accurate, so that we may then quote it as being the opinion of the *New York Times*. I am being frank about this: I do it all the time. I read what the great indiscreet senator said to the small indiscreet reporters, and I know that nine statements are nonsense and one statement is accurate. Then I quote the one that is accurate—but not as *my* opinion.

Of course it is natural that governments resist the explosive opinions of scientists. All governments, all societies are resistant to change. Over two thousand years ago, Plato was anxious to exile poets from his society; and in our lifetime, for the same reason, governments are in effect anxious to exile or at least silence scientists. They are anxious to exile all dissidents, because dissidents are the people who will change society.

There is a simple difference between governments and scientists. Governments believe that society ought to stay the way it is for good—and particularly that there ought to be no more elections. Scientists believe that society ought to be stable, but this does not mean the same thing to them as being static. We scientists want to see an *evolving* society, because when the physical world is evolving (and we are helping to evolve it), the forms of society and government cannot be kept the same.

The Price of Secrecy

What happens if the duties of the public, of scientists and governments are not kept? If governments do not allow scientists freedom of conscience to work at what they like and to refuse to work at what they do not like, and to speak freely about why they do so, then you get the gravest of all disasters—the disaster of state intolerance. This is a disaster because it saps both sides of the moral contract. For there is a moral contract between society and its individuals which allows the individual to be a dissident. If the state breaks this moral contract, then it leaves the individual no alternative but to become a terrorist. This becomes the only choice which is left open to scientists, if state intolerance imprisons them and tries to turn them into a secret Egyptian priestcraft.

The great sin of the public is acquiescence in this secrecy. I am horrified by the feeling that I get, from such trifling things as American advertisements, that people really enjoy the sense that they are not to be trusted. There is an advertisement running in the *New Yorker* at the moment (for a cloth-

ing firm, I think) which shows a man who has just got out of an airplane. He has a face like a prizefighter, he is well-dressed and wears a "sharp" hat, and he carries a bag in one hand which is chained to his wrist. He is carrying secret documents. This is the holy of holies. This is what we are to admire—the man with his mouth shut tight, who is not trusting you and me, because of course you and I are not to be trusted. When people come to believe this, when they themselves believe that it is better for them not to know, then totalitarianism is on the doorstep. Then you are ready for Hitler to get up and say: "I am the man who will take your communal responsibilities. I will make your decisions for you."

And the third in our scheme, the scientist, must preserve the tradition of quarreling, of questioning and of dissent on which science (and, I believe, all post-Renaissance civilization) has been built. He must do this for two reasons. First, there is the mundane reason which is obvious in the failure of German research after Hitler took power. It is this: that you do not get good science once you have reduced the scientists to yes-men. It is the nature of scientists to be thoroughly contrary people—let us own up to that. It is the nature of science as an activity to doubt your word and mine. As soon as you get a science, such as atomic energy research in totalitarian Germany, in which the young men are no longer allowed to question what the great men have said, then that science is dead. You can find in the files of the German Atomic Energy Commission that several young men made what I suppose must be called very good sugges-

tions, but they were not followed because (such is the influence of totalitarianism) Heisenberg always knew the answers already.

This does not happen in English laboratories yet. Mr. Churchill begins by saying that he is "satisfied with the power of existing explosives," but after the comma he does give young scientists the opportunity to be dissatisfied. This tradition, this independence and tolerance is, I believe, the basis of all our values; and this is what we as scientists must preserve.

The Duty of Heresy

These are the simple practical grounds for allowing scientists to be awkward. But I believe also that it is equally important on imaginative and intellectual grounds to allow them to be so. The sense of intellectual heresy is the life-blood of our civilization. And the heresy of scientists cannot be confined to their science. Newton was thoroughly and rightly contrary in science, and he was also a thorough heretic in religious matters. For the same reason, people like Oppenheimer and Einstein are found to associate with unreliable characters. You cannot say to scientists: "When you get into the laboratory at nine in the morning, you are going to become a dissenter; and when you go out at five-thirty you are going to become a citizen who touches his cap and who is politically sound." The intellect is not divided into these simple categories.

I have said that the duty of the scientist today is publicly to become a teacher. Let me end by saying something of what he is to teach. There is, of course, the scientific method. There are the facts about the scale and order of size,

of which I have spoken. There are the possibilities which are open to us in controlling nature and ourselves. Above all, the scientist can teach men to ask whether the distance between promise and achievement in our age need be quite so large; whether there must be such a gap between what society is capable of doing and what it does. All this, every scientist can teach.

But every scientist can also teach something deeper. He can teach men to resist all forms of acquiescence, of indifference, and the imposition of secrecy and denial. We must resist the attitude of officials who believe that there ought to be a good reason why something should be published before you allow it. We must teach even officials that, on the contrary, there will have to be a very good reason indeed before anyone is silenced by secrecy.

Gordon Dean, the former chairman of the American Atomic Energy Commission, has just been complaining against secrecy on practical grounds. He says that both the commercial reactors which are being built in America are still on the secret list, and that this is handicapping American business in its competition with English business for world reactor markets. God works in a mysterious way, and it may be that science will be liberated by this anxiety to sell atomic power. At any rate, let us not look askance at any ally in the drive against silence. My message here, in this and in all else, has been the scientist's duty to speak. There is one thing above all others that the scientist has a duty to teach to the public and to governments: it is the duty of heresy.



SOME FAR-OFF PLACE

A STORY

by F. George Marsden

IT HAD happened. Somehow he knew it would; it was almost as if the first hit had been a prologue, announcing as inevitable the blinding, stunning flash he had just felt. He rolled back into the shallow depression that had served, inadequately, as a shelter, while he had waited for the corpsman. He felt no sensation, only numbness. He tried to move, to find out how badly he was hurt. Nothing. In a while, he knew, the pain would come—better not to think about it. He yelled for the corpsman. The sound of his voice was reassuring. No panic, no fear in it.

There was nothing to do but wait. He waited. He rested against the sides of the foxhole trying to

think, to forget the pain he knew would come any minute. He tried to think back, to remember the events of the day—anything. It seemed so long ago that they had gotten the word to move back on the lines. They knew the “gooks” had started an offensive—if only they had held back until after mail call. Stupid thought. Stupid war. It had been a race to the top of the hill, against the gooks and the sun. They won and started to dig in just as the sun went down. If only he’d stayed with the skipper instead of going out on the point with “Saltie” and Young, he wouldn’t have been hit the first time and—hell! He tried to think of something else. Overhead the shells were whining

like ponderous birds in the black sky. The dull thud of far-off mortars, the sharp crack and bright flashes of the close ones, were backed by the soft rainlike splat of the machine-gun bullets that licked the ridge around the hole. His mind went back to the few days he had spent in the hospital. What a life—fresh eggs for breakfast: how do you want 'em?—hot showers—clean sheets—damn! That was great. The mortar barrage lifted. He remembered when it had started; he had counted the rounds as they landed. Was it the sixteenth or the seventeenth?—Oh, hell! Always wind up right back where you started.

The numbness was wearing off, the pain had started. He fought off the thought of it, and the mounting panic. He yelled again for the corpsman. His voice cracked; the skipper was calling him. He tried to call out and tell him he was hit but he couldn't trust his voice. Another runner answered from a few yards down the hill. Good old Norris, he thought, as the crouching figure ran past him, silhouetted against the sky. As he reached the crest the dull rattle of a machine gun began in the distance, and the soft insistent splat began to lick the ridge again. The runner twisted and fell about two feet from him with a gaping hole in his back; his throat gurgled like a toilet flushing; blood trickled from his mouth, forming a dark puddle on the ground; then silence.

The figure in the hole stared for a moment, a horrible expression of amazement, fear, and disbelief contorted his features; he crouched deeper in the hole. He noticed a faint grayish light in the east and started to shake involuntarily. He bit his lip as each slight movement racked his body with pain. Oh God,

how long have I been here? he thought. The blood which had once felt warm was now cold, and his clothes, which were soaked in it, were becoming stiff. He became conscious of specific localized pains in his feet, legs, arms. He called again for a corpsman and his voice rose almost to a scream. He choked and began to swear bitterly. He cursed everyone and everything—better knock it off, I'm getting hysterical, he thought—might go into shock. "Doc" said you're okay if you don't go into shock. Oh, Christ, if I've got to die there are a hundred better ways than bleeding to death. . . .

Death, as an abstraction, had never held any fears for him. But when it became personal, when it was a matter of his dying. . . . His mind went back to the first time death had occurred to him as a possibility.

They were leaving Hawaii. The plane banked away from the rising sun and headed west into the fog that hung low on the Pacific. It was quite a sight. The plane raced into the mists and low-hanging clouds; the sun which had been behind slowly overtook them, and in the path of the plane it seemed to devour the clouds which, a few hours before, it had glorified with brilliant hue. It was then that he had first thought he might not be coming back. The thought held no terror then. It was simply a disinterested speculation, a remote possibility. At the time, war had meant bravery and glory, and even though he sometimes cursed the stupidity of the "police action" he was getting into, his mind was still filled with romantic ideas of war that "makes ambition virtue." He was brought back to the present by a movement, ever so slight, which

caused an excruciating pain in his arm.

Maybe war was really like that—bravery and glory—somewhere, sometime. He didn't know. All he had ever known was the cold, and the mud of the rice paddies, the towering, tortuous hills and the gaunt grey landscape. But "war" had always been on top of the next hill, or over it and beyond in some far-off place. It had been tracers coming at you from seemingly nowhere, or a barrage that caused you to huddle in a hole, or an occasional sight of the "enemy" coming at you, or running away. It had been all this, but never real.

The eastern sky was streaked with crimson revelations of the dawn, and in the breaking twilight he observed the raw, gaping wounds visible through the uniform rent with holes and red with blood. He looked with revulsion at his hand; clean white bone spicules poked through the greyish yellow mass from which blood continued to come. His yells of "corpsman" became more frequent and insistent. He felt weak and faint, and he knew that he was dying.

He awoke in almost total darkness, a drowsy numbness had come over him. The pain he felt seemed far-off, as if belonging to someone else. He became aware of soft moans and heavy breathing in the darkness around him. He noticed chinks and cracks of light in the darkness overhead. I'm in a hospital tent, he thought; they've given me morphine—I'm going to live. He began to cry softly, stopped,

gave a crazy laugh; then sleep came over him again.

When he awoke he was in a tent, one end of which was open to the sky. Over him white-dressed figures moved above the bright lights which shone full in his face. Through the water the lights brought to his eyes, he saw in the distance the towering mountain he had been on the night before. It rose in rugged outline, bright gray and white against the clear, cold sky. He tried to imagine what was happening up there. Who had taken his place—and Norris's and "Saltie's"? He wondered what he would be doing if he were still there. What difference does it make? he thought. I'll be going home now; I've done my bit of playing cannon-fodder. He became aware of the returning pain; he moaned. A corpsman came over, checked the card on his chest, and gave him another shot of morphine. He was conscious of his stretcher being carried. He opened his eyes as they were going past the tent flap. They carried him to a clearing near an airstrip, where rows of stretchers waited to be taken aboard the planes. A makeshift transfusion stand was placed next to him; he fell asleep again.

A corpsman checked the bottle an hour later, swore bitterly and almost without emotion—another frozen one. He stooped and pulled the muddy khaki blanket over the face.

And somewhere, up front, the war went on as it had before he left.



CONSCRIPTION IN GERMANY

EAST
AND
WEST



by Henry Holm

WORLD OPINION still tends to believe that Germany is the father of militarism and that all German boys are born with steel helmets on their heads. The actual situation shows that this is not so. Dr. Konrad Adenauer has promised his Western Allies to build up an army of 500,000 men and necessary legislation has been passed by the Bonn Parliament, but how is it going to be achieved?

A modern army consists of at least 40% professional soldiers, officers, technical specialists, etc., which would amount to 200,000 men. The total number of Germans who have volunteered thus far is only 200,000. Where are the other 300,000—the 60% actual fighting force—to come from? A few years

ago, a Stuttgart newspaper polled its readers to find out how many were willing to enlist in the new armed forces, and in what capacity. The answer was: 200 were willing to go in as officers, 50 as sergeants and 3 as privates. It is believed that in the 200,000 who have volunteered, the number of privates is proportionately even lower.

This is not hard to explain. Pre-Hitler professional army officers, by an large, did not belong to the Nazi party. Consequently, after the war they were called to fill Civil Administration posts to replace ousted employees who were party members. Gradually, however, the latter have been returned to their jobs, some of them with promotions, so that the former army of-

officers are now finding themselves in inferior positions with low pay and practically no opportunity for advancement. No wonder, therefore, that they have been volunteering for the armed forces, where their past military rank offers them better prospects for the future. But they are officers, not privates.

Bavaria Says Nein!

The People's Party in Bavaria has started a movement against conscription, claiming that there will be enough volunteers to meet the need. For this move there are at least two reasons: one is Bavaria's traditional dislike of conscription, first forced upon her by the Prussians; the other is that Bavaria is a country of small landowners and manpower is already scarce. Farmers know that once their sons have been garrisoned in a town they will not want to return to the fields, and hands will become even scarcer. The Bavarian movement, however, is bound to fail because Bonn knows that it will be impossible to muster half a million volunteers.

Let us now look at East Germany, where the Communist Government has promised not to introduce conscription, and where this promise will be kept, for good reasons. There is conscription in the Soviet Union and the Russian Government knows that it can trust its own people, despite the West's widespread belief to the contrary. At the same time, the Russians know that they cannot trust the East Germans and that conscription would bring into the army a greater number of untrustworthy elements than they could handle. Thus, the East German army will be a volunteer army.

Henry Holm, correspondent in Germany for World Around Press (successor to Worldover Press), is an FOR member who has extensive sources of information in East Germany and is well-informed on European affairs generally.

Behind the Red Mask

It is true that clever propaganda by the Russians has lured a good many German youths into the Communist Party in East Germany, but even among these, there are many who abhor the idea of going into the army. East Germany's silent opposition to rearmament is never publicly mentioned but the fact that it exists is even known to some of us in the West who have contacts across the dividing lines. An East Berlin Communist official said to a group of young men who had refused to volunteer: "I should not be saying this to you, but *you are right*. All this rearmament is utterly foolish." One of the young men reported this to me himself.

Again in the West, we find that when Theodor Blank, Minister of Defense, tried to address rearmament rallies to induce men to volunteer, he met with near disaster. The first rally at Augsburg (Bavaria) won for him the nickname of "First Casualty of World War III." The hall was packed by an emotional crowd. A World War II veteran shoved Blank to the rear of the hall with his crutch, while missiles began to fly through the air. A drinking glass hit the speaker on the head and the police had to struggle to get him out without fatal injuries. The following day, at Nürnberg, a similar scene was

repeated and again Herr Blank was unable to speak. In Berlin, Blank delegated a member of his staff to address a private meeting, since a public one was out of the question—but a group of students discovered the place and tried to break in. The police arrested them as Communists from East Germany, only to be forced to release them at once, upon finding that they were all students at the West Berlin University. In the "fatherland of militarism" the Minister of Defense was not able to make a public speech.

The use of military propaganda films was tried next, but the Association of Motion Picture House Owners refused to show them, claiming that they did not wish to screen political films. They

knew that the public would not stand for military propaganda. By contrast, the old film, "All Quiet on the Western Front," based on Erich Maria Remarque's famous book, which was shouted down in 1930 in Germany and had to be banned, is back on the screen and drawing huge crowds. Crowds have also packed the houses showing a new film based on World War II, called "08-15," which highlights the intolerable injustices and the dreadful hardships endured by the soldiers on the fighting fronts, as well as the barking sergeants and their cruel deeds. Veterans who jammed the theaters were heard to say, as they came out: "That's all true. My sergeant was also one who. . . ." Theatre owners know that Mr. Blank's propaganda

films would mean empty houses; they prefer anti-militaristic ones which bring mountains of cash to the box office.

These things you will not find in the major press or hear discussed in the Parliament House at Bonn, but a typical answer to the question, "How will conscription work in Germany?" may be found in what was said by a sturdy young lad of military age: "When I go off to the barracks, there will be three men who go together—myself and the two who have to carry me!"

"... and in conclusion, let me say that if all we clubwomen raised our voices for peace, no one could hear anything else! . . ."

GRIN AND BEAR IT

By Lichty



1-10
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WAR and the CHRISTIAN

by George B. Caird

As long as there is evil in the world—injustice, lust, greed, cruelty—Christians are committed to a fight which knows neither truce nor neutrality. There is a difference of opinion, however, among Christians concerning the weapons which may properly be used in this unrelenting struggle. All Christians agree that international warfare is evil. But there are some who feel that a Christian may be compelled to choose—he must go to war or allow injustice and tyranny to triumph. Others are pacifists, not because they are indifferent to moral evil, but because they believe that Satan can never cast out Satan, and that in Christ, God revealed his way of defeating evil.

This is a subject on which it is difficult to write dispassionately.

There are some for whom war recalls heroic self-sacrifice, the comradeship of the armed services, the exhilaration of living dangerously for a noble cause. They are apt to resent any attack upon war as if it were an attack upon the splendid qualities displayed by soldiers in war. There are others for whom war means the brutalizing effect of systematic killing, the collapse of moral standards, the tragedy of broken homes, and the final abandonment of the cause for which hostilities were first undertaken. Both pictures contain truth, but we must set both aside, for we cannot expect to do justice to a complex ethical problem in an atmosphere supercharged with emotion. Perhaps it will clear the air a little if we say at the outset that the pacifist does not presume to sit

ment of the soldier—that the
recognizes that it takes high
to be a pacifist.

Christ and Evil

Jesus frequently spoke of his own ministry as a campaign between the kingdom of God and the kingdom of Satan. Satan, the "strong man fully armed," held the world in a grip which men could not break. "A stronger than he," namely Jesus, finally overpowered him and liberated his captives. His power was not in a vast social revolution, or a great act of divine omnipotence, or a show of worldly might, but in a humble and sacrificial service which led to Calvary.

Evil wins by contagion. When a man responds to injury with retaliation—resentment—imitation, sin has gained control of two lives instead of one. Because all the sins of men which conspired to crucify Jesus could not turn his obedience into rebellion or his love into hatred, the Cross was a personal victory. But it was even more. Jesus chose to identify himself with sinful men—to make himself accountable for their sins. In the Cross, therefore, we see the triumph of God's love. The power of evil is broken. The innocent was willing to accept for himself the consequences of the sin of the guilty. Moreover, Jesus lived and died not as a solitary figure, but as the Messiah, the Son of Man, the head and representative of Israel who embodies the whole people of God in his own person. His ministry, therefore, is of significance not merely for individual ethics but for social and national ethics as well.

Because the Jews believed they were God's chosen people, they had to face the problem of maintaining

their national holiness in a world of iniquity. The Pharisees avoided contact with sinners, Gentiles or lax Jews, who might contaminate their sanctity. The Essenes withdrew to a monastic community. The Zealots believed that the holy people could exist only if the Gentile Romans were removed by a war of independence. All three groups had one concern—self-protection from a hostile environment. Jesus, on the other hand, believed that to save one's life was to lose it—that Israel was called to take up the burden of the world's sin and suffering at whatever cost to herself. He tried to recall Israel to this God-given destiny, and when Israel refused, warned her that nationalism would lead to disaster. Meanwhile, he dedicated himself to the founding of a new Israel in which God's reign of redemptive love would be realized.

Christian Discipleship

For Christianity to assert that the historic story of Jesus was a revelation of God is not enough. It must be shown that his life has some relation to ours, that the validity of Christian ethics depends on this. Perhaps we can describe the link in three ways: obedience, imitation, and indwelling.

Obedience. Some people argue that the Sermon on the Mount is not a code of law. This may be true. It is, however, a description of that life in which God in his grace is striving to teach us and it carries all the obligation of an ethical absolute.

Jesus said: "Why do you call me 'Lord, Lord,' and do not the things which I say?"—and: "Whoever hears my words and does them shall be likened to a man who built his house upon a rock." In-

deed, it is not too much to claim that he regarded his teaching as the only practical policy. Because the kingdom of God was embodied in Jesus, and because his life is that which God seeks to bestow upon us, it is a life of obedience to Him.

Imitation. "If any man would come after me, let him negate himself and take up his cross and follow me," said Jesus. When Jesus asked James and John if they were able to share his cup and his baptism, he made it plain that he expected others to follow the path he had chosen for himself. Although following Jesus may be a matter of spirit rather than of slavish copying, the death of Christ must not be separated from the life of service which led up to it, and the self-sacrifice of the Christian must not be considered in isolation from other Christian virtues. A pacifism which does not spring out of a positive concern for the general welfare of the "brothers for whom Christ died" is not worthy of the name of Christ. And it remains that "Christ also suffered for us, leaving us an example that we should follow in his steps."

Indwelling. The Christian life is one which surrenders to the indwelling of Christ. "It is no longer I who live but Christ who lives in me." The Christian who pulls the bomb release, therefore, must be able to say, "Not I but Christ in me."

One may object that this argument is unfair—that we all constantly fail to live up to this description of the Christian life. But here we must distinguish between two classes of action. We all do things which Christ would disown, but these are the temptations of negligence, inadvertence, or weak-

ness and are against our better judgment. War, however, can hardly be considered a temptation that catches our better self off guard. The Christian participates in war because he believes it is right. But any action which is right for a Christian must be one which Christ himself would do.

Objections

For the sake of clarity, I will divide the objections to pacifism into four classes: legal, social, religious and practical.

The legal objection. Unless we are anarchists, we must admit that the maintenance of law and government requires the existence of a police force to suppress crime and protect law-abiding citizens. Jesus, Paul, and Peter all seem to have acknowledged the value of the Roman Empire in this respect. Should we not therefore go to war to restrain aggression and protect the helpless? This argument has some weight, for it is extremely difficult to tell, in such incidents as the subjugation of Mau Mau terrorists, where police action ends and war begins. Difficult as it may be to draw a clear line between police action and war, however, the two are fundamentally different in principle.

Police action brings suspected criminals to justice. The criminals have a fair trial before a jury and have a chance to defend themselves. It is also a cardinal principle of law that nobody shall act as judge in his own cause. Inasmuch as police action upholds justice, however, war is the negation of justice. For war decides who is stronger, not who is right. War does not confine itself to the guilty, offers no chance of legal defense, and compels the belligerent nation

to act as police, prosecutor, jury, judge, and executioner in its own cause.

Professor Butterfield, a non-pacifist, also points out that as long as war is waged between two *enemies*, there is a chance of common repentance and mutual reconciliation. But when one nation regards the other as the "criminal," that leads to Pharisaic self-righteousness and to a blindness to all the causes that make for war.

The social objection. Some say that the ethics of the Gospel should determine our attitude to personal wrongs, but do not absolve us from the responsibility of protecting others. Because we are members of society, we owe society a debt, and we ought not to attempt to contract out of it. In time of war the pacifist cannot keep his hands clean, since everything he does indirectly contributes to the war effort. We must try not to act as if each was master of his fate.

This criticism proves too much. If the Christian may not withdraw his obedience to the state in time of war, at what point may he? If he may not contract out of being a soldier when the state bids him enlist, does it not follow that he must also be a Nazi or a Communist if the state demands it? When society or the state is the arbiter of right and wrong, there is totalitarianism.

In the second place, this objection is based on a fallacy. In every great city there is juvenile delinquency, alcoholism, and organized vice. For all of these evils, some people are directly responsible. Yet it is generally recognized that these are social phenomena for which society as a whole must bear some measure of responsibility. Nobody would argue that just because these

evils are tolerated, we ought to give them wholehearted and enthusiastic support! Similarly, the pacifist in time of war cannot help but recognize that although he is involved in the corporate responsibility and even the corporate guilt, he is not obliged to give war his assent and support.

To me, however, the real answer to this objection is that the Christian is a member of two societies—earth and the kingdom of heaven. To each he owes loyalty, but in time of war these loyalties conflict. When Christians war against each other, they are declaring in the strongest terms that for them the citizenship on earth takes precedence. Yet Jesus sternly warns us that those who put earthly loyalty before their loyalty to the kingdom of God are not worthy to be his disciples.

The religious objection. There is a modern school of theology which avers that pacifism fails to reckon with the reality of sin. Living in the midst of a sinful humanity, man—a sinner—can never do any act which is not tainted with the corruption of sin. To suggest that the Sermon on the Mount be treated as a guide for Christian conduct is "impossible perfectionism." I have pointed out earlier that this is not the view Jesus took of his teachings. He expected them to be obeyed. If he was a perfectionist, the pacifist need not be ashamed to be found in such company. Besides, the New Testament does not agree with this pessimistic analysis of human nature and society. Man is a sinner, but he is a redeemed sinner. By nature he is "in Adam," a member of a corrupt humanity; but by grace he is "in Christ," a member of a redeemed humanity. And because he shares

in the risen life of Christ, he is expected to have "the same mind which was also in Christ Jesus." With man it is impossible. With God, everything—even the Sermon on the Mount—is possible.

The practical objection. One objection remains. It is the one people find the hardest to evade and answer. Suppose we all become pacifists, what will happen? It tempts me to say that pacifism offers more hope than atomic war. Remember—most of the arguments we use today against abolishing war were used before. For example, once people said that if Britain abolished the slave trade while other nations still practiced it, she would commit economic suicide. When Britain took her courage in both hands, however, other nations followed the lead. Is it not possible that unilateral disarmament by one of the great powers and the renunciation of war as a means of settling disputes

would produce such a relaxation of international tension that a general outlawing of war would follow?

To face such a prospect is to descend into an abyss, but it is an abyss into which Christ descended before us. He faced death knowing that he was abandoning his ill-prepared disciples to certain persecution, that nothing could now stand between the Jerusalem he loved and her self-sought ruin—that even the cause he had served might be obliterated. But he did the will of God, leaving the results in God's hands. This surely is the very essence of Christian faith, that we accept the pattern of life which God has set before us in Christ and leave the results in his hands, trusting that he who raised up Christ crucified will vindicate for us also the way of the Cross—that when the last word has been spoken in the drama of human history he will vindicate nothing else.

The Kingdom of Kindness

Does the mother nurse her child because the law compels her? There is some force in the hearts of men which enriches their lives. Man relies on love. He is born of love. He grows on love and when the hour comes for him to leave this world, he looks around him with the eyes of love and leaves his body and the world in peace if he can see someone whom he loves at the last moments.

We do not aim at doing acts of kindness but at creating a kingdom of kindness. Kindness can and does exist even in the kingdom of wickedness, but only as a pinch of salt does in food—kind acts only add to the taste of that with which they are mixed. We must, therefore, develop a larger view and desist from undertaking any activity merely because it appears to be a constructive act of service.

—Vinoba Bhave, "What I Believe"

National Council Votes Big 1956-57 Budget

Approval of a 1956-57 national budget of \$152,000, higher by \$12,000 than the preceding year's, marked the spring meetings of the National Council of the FOR. The well-attended meetings were held April 19 and 20 at the Broadway Congregational Church in New York City.

The decision to approve the budget was made without dissent even though the finance report available to the Council indicated that contributions for the current year would fail to reach the budgeted figure by about \$20,000. The Budget Committee had reported that there was no "fat" in the budget and that, with the national staff already cut to the bare minimum, any cuts inevitably would mean eliminating one or more regional offices. Council members were unwilling to make such a drastic decision without further study, and authorized the staff to put the problem squarely up to the membership.

One factor easing the situation somewhat was the fact that the 1955-56 report indicated under-spending by an amount even greater than the lag in contributions, so that the actual cash position of the organization was somewhat improved over the preceding year. It

was pointed out, however, that equivalent under-spending could not be expected in the coming year since a number of positions that had been unfilled are now occupied.

The Council approved the appointment of a new "policy committee" to give a year's study to the possibilities of revising the organization's structure in ways that would ease the load of rising costs while continuing to do an effective job.

Officers Voted In

Charles R. Lawrence, Jr., Brooklyn College assistant professor of sociology, was reelected national chairman. Vice-chairmen elected were H. D. Bollinger, Allan Hunter, Claud D. Nelson, John Oliver Nelson and Emily Parker Simon. S. F. Boden was reelected treasurer, with Forest Ashbrook, executive secretary of the Baptist Ministers and Missionaries Benefit Board, named to be assistant treasurer. Rev. George L. Paine, of Cambridge, was elected to the new post of honorary national chairman.

The Council heard reports of the FOR's work in the Deep South, in its seven regions, and in its national production of literature and visual aids. Discussion of all of these was lively, and was supplemented by reports and discussions on CO matters, conscription and militarization, youth work, and the international scene.

George Paine Named Honorary Chairman

The Rev. George Lyman Paine, Episcopal clergyman and veteran peace worker, was elected to the newly created post of honorary national chairman of the FOR at the April meetings of the organization's National Council. Mr. Paine was notified of his election to the post at a surprise dinner given him by the members of the Council Thursday night, April 19. With the honorary post went an engraved plaque commemorating his "distinguished service to the cause of reconciliation and peace."

George Paine has been a member of the National Council for more than twenty-five years. He acted as chairman of the Boston FOR group until two years ago, sharing his own office with that group and providing it with active and aggressive leadership. Several years ago he created the Robert Treat Paine Fund, through which a leading foreign pacifist is brought annually to the United States for a series of lectures in American theological seminaries. Among those who have been brought over for this purpose have been Canon Charles E. Raven, of England; André Trocmé, of France; and Pastor Martin Niemoeller, of Germany. The Paine Fund also has made contributions to other aspects of both American and International FOR work. It has borne a major part of the cost of maintaining full-time field workers in crucial areas of the South, doing vital reconciliation work.

Mr. Paine is a member of the Board of Overseers of Harvard University, and a descendant of the Robert Treat Paine who signed the Declaration of Independence.

Consider New Peace Center for FOR

Second only to the budget in time devoted to discussion at National Council meetings was a proposal to move the national office out of New York City to a new pacifist retreat and training center at Nyack, New York. The move would entail purchase of a large former "mansion" overlooking the Hudson River about twenty miles north of New York.

The proposal grew out of a search for new quarters for the national office, motivated by the inadequacy of present quarters and climbing rents in the city. Among the places examined, the Nyack house stood out as providing not only satisfactory office space, but excellent provisions for establishing a pacifist training center for volunteer leaders in the movement.

The building stands on 1.7 acres of ground, and contains 33 rooms and 9 baths in addition to a large basement. Tentative plans would call for conversion of one floor into apartments for some staff members; adaptation of other rooms for FOR and other religious meetings; and development of a pacifist library. One wing of the building, formerly used as servants' quarters, would be utilized to house participants in the proposed retreats and training sessions and to accommodate visitors from abroad and from other parts of the country.

Discussion ranged freely over all aspects of the proposal. A suggestion that the office be moved to a more central location in the mid-west was rejected on the grounds that national operations required easy access to denominational headquarters, the National Council of Churches, the United Nations, and

government agencies, almost all of which are in the east.

Other questions raised were whether FOR program would be affected adversely by not having the office actually in New York City; whether operations of the new headquarters would occupy so much staff time as to reduce the effectiveness of other program emphases; and whether costs of operation would be within the organization's means.

The Council concluded by expressing its conviction that new office space should be located if at all possible, and authorizing a previously appointed committee to continue its study of the matter and to secure "this or other" facilities with the approval of the Executive Committee.

Council Footnotes

In response to announcement of a special \$500 fund to put a selection of the best literature on non-violence and pacifism into the libraries of 100 Negro colleges, two members of the Council started the fund off with \$100 each.

* * *

All staff members were present at Council meetings after four days of staff sessions. Council members commented on growing altitude of staff with 6'4" Wilson Riles and 6'6" Bob Gussner. Other members were urged to stretch a bit.

* * *

Annual staff "evaluation," when staff leaves room and Council decides whether to re-hire, was fol-



This is the building considered for new FOR "peace center" and national office. Building is 35 years old, of fireproof brick and concrete construction, includes elevator and \$20,000 pipe organ, can be purchased for a fraction of estimated value.

owed this year by staff announcement of formation of "union." Union "demands" included welfare fund made up of 10% of Council members' salaries; time-and-a-half pay for Wilson Riles when working south of the Mason-Dixon line; bell around executive secretary's neck when in vicinity of "working" staff members.

* * *

Added feature at dinner to George Paine was presentation to Nevin Sayre of framed resolution of appreciation passed by IFOR Council last summer in Europe. Presentation was by A. J. Muste, who had resolution on desk for months. Said Nevin: "I was sure you'd get around to giving it to me before long!"

Peace Caravans to Work Through July

A dozen or so young FOR members will spend the last week of this month in the home of the secretary of the Middle Atlantic region of the FOR, Charles Walker, in concentrated preparation for activities that will be new to them. For during the whole month of July they will be "on location" in West Chester, Philadelphia and New York City, doing "peace work."

The caravanners will carry the message of pacifism wherever they can get a hearing, through youth meetings in churches, on street corners, by "opinion polls" and poster walks and whatever other means they can devise. Worship sessions will be a normal part of the project throughout.

Following the month-long activities, the group will gather again in the Walker home on August 1 and 2 for a "post-project" evaluation.

FOR Sponsors Carnegie Hall Forum

Leading spokesmen for and against Communism were slated to meet May 27 in open debate at Carnegie Hall. Sponsored and organized by the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the discussion was to bring together Socialist leader Norman Thomas and FOR Secretary Emeritus A. J. Muste in a discussion of "America's Road to Democracy and World Peace," with Communist leader Eugene Dennis and *National Guardian* writer W.E.B. DuBois. FOR Chairman Charles R. Lawrence, Jr., was to chair the meeting, with Roger Baldwin as moderator.

Notable because anti-Communists have seldom been able to confront their adversaries in a public discussion, the Carnegie Hall event gave every promise of providing "hot copy" for the news columns of FELLOWSHIP in July.

Sell to All Races, Christians Urged

Philadelphia (RNS)—Christians planning to sell their homes have been urged to tell real estate agents that the property "is available to all qualified purchasers of good character without regard to race."

The proposal was made in a report of the department of social education and action at the 168th General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, USA, which met May 24-30.

Marshaling facts to debunk the "property values" shibboleth, the report asked home owners in mixed neighborhoods to "use every intelligent effort to stem the tendency toward panic selling and increase the stability of their neighborhood."

Work Camps, Peace Seminars Announced

A four-session leadership training course in "How to Interpret Pacifism to Interested Groups" was sponsored by the New England FOR in April and May. The sessions, held in the library of the American Friends Service Committee's headquarters in Cambridge, had as leaders Prof. Paul K. Deats, of Boston University School of Theology; Russell Johnson, AFSC Peace Secretary; and Robert Gussner, FOR Regional Secretary. All are FOR members.

Gussner led off on April 17 with "Ten Questions Most Frequently Asked Pacifists"; Prof. Deats followed with "Religious Pacifism and Our Churches"; Johnson talked on "Economic and Political Analysis"; and Deats wound up with "Constructive Pacifism — Nonviolence and Other Signs of Hope."

Washington Camp

The Washington area FOR has announced a "Fellowship Camp" at Quaker Cove, near Anacortes, Washington, August 3 to 10. The camp is being sponsored by a group of individuals interested in developing the family camp idea, and is not related directly to either the Washington FOR or the AFSC. Leaders will include Floyd Schmoie, George F. Ault and Charles James.

Camps in Germany

A peace seminar and seven work camps for the summer have been announced by the Brethren Service Commission headquarters in Kassel, Germany. The seminar will be held in Kassel from July 14 to August 17. Work camps will operate in various locations in Germany at needed projects. Information is ob-

tainable from the Brethren Service Commission, Witzenhauser Strasse 5, Kassel-R., Germany.

Newspaper Lauds FOR Ministers' Proposal

One of the warmest commendations of an FOR project ever published in a daily newspaper appeared in an editorial headed "The Fellowship's Modest Proposal" in the March 20 issue of the Lewiston, Idaho, *Tribune*. The editorial followed the news that 655 clergymen had signed the FOR-sponsored statement of support and encouragement to Negro ministers arrested in the Montgomery, Alabama, bus boycott, and that 341 had volunteered to go to Montgomery to fill the pulpits of any of the ministers who were jailed.

Referring to the announcement, the *Tribune's* editorial continued:

"The Fellowship of Reconciliation ordinarily does not get much headline space. One reason is that it does not seek public attention. Another is that there are so many exciting, dramatic conflicts in the world that often there is not much newspaper space or reader interest for do-gooders whose only 'pitch' is that men should love their neighbors."

Then, after bringing its readers up to date on the Montgomery story (and defining the struggle as "a crisis in ethical law and moral order"), the editorial offered this evaluation of the FOR proposal:

"The organization's name itself is challenging. Here, first of all is a 'fellowship' of men of good will. Second, it suggests that the foremost problem of civilization is not the problem of passing and enforcing better laws, not the economic problem of assuring more goods for more people, not the political problem of educating the masses, for effective citizenship, but the *moral*

problem of getting men to *reconcile* their differences with each other and with God.

"How shall this be done? The latest announcement of the Fellowship offers an example. Here is no group resolution denouncing the grand jury of Montgomery. No attorneys were offered by the Fellowship to fight the cases to the bitter end. Instead, 200 *individual* clergymen simply offered to go to Montgomery if they were needed to fill any pulpits which might be vacated by the power of misguided law.

"This, of course, is a simple thing to offer. All that is needed to fill one of those pulpits is one man with courage and conviction. He would not be required to revolutionize the social system of the South. He would not be expected to denounce grand juries. He certainly would not intend to lead federal troops into Montgomery to maintain law and order (and incidentally, to launch a possible civil war). All he would have to do would be to stand in a pulpit and preach about brotherly love. Of course, he might be mobbed for 'meddling.' He might be sent to jail with his predecessor. But there would always be another minister on the list of volunteers to replace him. So it is a simple, obvious, necessary thing to do. That is why, we suspect, more and more men in and out of the clergy will be offering to do it or something like it in the years of reconciliation ahead.

"The creeds of these volunteer ministers doubtless vary widely, but some things they doubtless have in common. Undoubtedly they are more interested in teaching brotherly love than in building expensive churches, showing members of their congregations how church work can help in business and social life, or opening Cabinet meetings with prayer. Some of them may be skilled and learned theologians; some may have never learned any more about religion than the Sermon on the Mount. Some may have inspiring personalities which make them beloved of all who meet them; others may be no more able to avoid controversy than Jesus was. But they will have one thing in common: they will be willing to stand up where the pressure is and quietly say that a man must love his neighbor.

"The temper of the times may be such that citizens may be hearing more—and inquiring more—about the Fellowship of Reconciliation and groups like it in the tense and troubled years that lie ahead."

Ask Churches Speak Up For Peace

Geneva (RNS)—A plea that churches "speak to the nations" now in an effort to alleviate world tensions was issued here by the seven presidents of the World Council of Churches in a message intended to be read in congregations on Whitsunday (May 20).

"With the growing terror of nuclear weapons," the message said, "men's madness is such that, at times, we seem on the brink of the suicide of the world. No wonder old men lose hope and young men see no guiding vision for the future."

The message recommended that Christians remind the nations of three things:

1. That conflicts must be resolved by reason, not violence—for violence "now has reached such a pitch that, when once unloosed, it is beyond human control and, unless wars can be made to cease, all nations will perish."

2. That "neither by words of anger nor by insistence upon rights can settlements be achieved but by the spreading of justice, combining to meet one another's needs, and relying for our salvation upon the grace and mercy of God."

3. That "the whole world cries out for peace and all nations are members of one family with God the Father of all."

One of the seven signers of the statement was FOR member Bishop Sante Uberto Barbieri of Buenos Aires, Argentina.

FOR Staff Confers With Negro Churchmen

In Atlanta last month, FOR staff members met with ten top leaders from key areas of the South to discuss ways and means of furthering the nonviolent movement for freedom there. Representing a cross-section of the vigorous new leadership in the South's Negro churches, spokesmen from South Carolina, Alabama, Georgia, Tennessee and Mississippi evinced an increasingly emphatic commitment to the methods of nonviolent resistance.

Among the meeting's tangible results was the decision to hold a new series of FOR workshops next month in a number of Southern communities to spread what one conferee called "the spirit of Montgomery." Among those present were the Rev. M. L. King, Jr., of

Montgomery; FOR National Chairman Charles R. Lawrence; Executive Secretary John Swomley; Secretary Emeritus A. J. Muste; and Field Secretary Glenn E. Smiley. Others included clergymen from a variety of Protestant denominations and educators from South Carolina State College at Orangeburg and from Morehouse College at Atlanta.

Germans Decorate West

Dan West, leadership training director for the Church of the Brethren, member of the National Council of the FOR, and founder of the Heifer Project, was decorated in April by the West German government for his part in the interdenominational relief effort. He now wears—or may wear—the Officer's Cross of the Order of Merit.

TRAVELSTUDY AROUND THE WORLD

FOR members Isabel and Monroe Smith will lead another group around the world starting Sept. 1. (The Smiths founded and for 20 years directed American Youth Hostels; they are founders and directors of Youth Argosy, sponsor of the present project.) The group will include college graduates of any age seeking a Master's Degree in Education, and particularly teachers on sabbatical.

The trip will begin with two weeks intensive preparation at the Graduate School of Putney, Vt., reviewing whole field of education, selecting thesis topics, etc. After 9 months world studytravel, group will return to the school for one week in June, 1957, to complete theses and have work evaluated by President Morris Mitchell of the Graduate School.

Purpose of the trip: to study world problems at first hand, meet leaders of constructive forces, live close to the peoples of the world, linger in places of historical and sociological interest, analyze effectiveness of different teaching systems, appraise UN work worldwide, hold seminars with pacifist groups.

All-inclusive cost—\$2950. Modest scholarships available for those who merit such aid.

For further information write to

The Graduate School, Putney, Vermont



BOOKS

Stories of Africa

Nine Rivers From Jordan, by Denis Johnston. Little, Brown and Company. 1955. 496 pp. \$5.00.

One Man's Africa, by John Seymour. John Day Company. 1956. 255 pp. \$4.00.

Episode in the Transvaal, by Harry Bloom. Doubleday & Company, Inc. 1955. 295 pp. \$3.95.

Those who like their realism and symbolism mixed in about equal parts will find Denis Johnston's brilliant *Nine Rivers from Jordan* their book. It is narrative, philosophical essay, dramatic interlude, poetry—often moving, frequently cryptic. The author was about to record for the BBC Montgomery's famous retreat before Rommel in Egypt when the dragoman from whom he hired his camel foretold that he should cross nine rivers. Whereupon this sensitive, ironical, rarely literal Irishman named his rivers from the Nine Muses.

From 1942 on through the desert campaigns, the final ousting of the Nazis from Africa, and the fighting in Italy, to the conquest of Germany, Johnston followed the British armies, his broadcasting scoops among the war's most daring. And since the pursuit of Truth appears to have been scarcely second with him to the fortunes of war, the Bible, the Odyssey, the Inferno oc-

cupied his mind even at crucial moments. His book has been described as "a journey through the Heil and humanity of war." Ribaldry is here, of course, blasphemy and profanity, but rather less than usual of war's blood and filth, and more of man's decency.

A German officer, who risked capture if not shooting, to carry a wounded Tommy back to his comrades, and who when questioned, replied quite simply that the man would have died if left untended, makes a nice story, as does the British medical outfit that got itself by accident inside the German lines, so that for a brief time British and German medical men found themselves working side by side to give impartial care to the wounded. Touching, too, are the letters from a shy young German girl to her sweetheart, which the author found in an abandoned lorry and carried about in the hope of finding the writer.

War's confusion and ineptitude come through most clearly. The miscarriage of orders; the author's predicaments in getting his recording equipment from place to place—these were as nothing to the confusion he found in men's minds. Why were they fighting when victory promised so little. Why did God permit wars anyhow? That Johnston was sincerely searching for a solution to the old tormenting problem of evil, one may believe;

also that he found something at least partially satisfying.

One Man's Africa

Again the war and Africa figure in John Seymour's highly readable *One Man's Africa*. But here interest centers in the country, its exotic beauty, its curiously juxtaposed peoples. The author has contrived a fairly complete account of the vast continent's southern third, combining physical adventure with perceptive comment. He records two African sojourns, the one as a young man earning his living in the '30s, the second a return visit twenty years later.

In 1934 twenty-year-old John Seymour landed in Capetown. His first job was to "ride the camps" looking for diseased sheep on a huge farm in the Eastern Cape Province. He describes riding through a limitless air of almost unearthly quality, mile after unbroken mile, across sandy plains dotted with karoo, low stubby bushes on which the sheep graze. His English employers were a landed aristocracy, for whom Afrikaners, descendants of the Veeboers (Dutch cattle-farmers) acted as foremen, lording it over the detribalized African workers.

Karakul sheep-farming, a new type, next took the young man far up into South-West Africa, even then being incorporated into the Union by the government's policy of all-but free land grants to Afrikaners. (That the author's new employers were again English was exceptional.) Seymour writes vividly of a 55-mile trek to remove 2,000 sheep from poisonous veldt to safer ground. Camped in the middle of a huge circle of sheep, surrounded by great fires, the shepherds slept by turns, rifles in

hand, on the alert for lions.

The sea was the next lure. But a disastrous commercial fishing venture exhausted the young man's savings and drove him east again and north to become a copper miner in Northern Rhodesia. His last occupation before enlistment and the most satisfying, was that of government livestock inspector in the Barotseland protectorate. Inoculating cattle against pleuropneumonia was useful, the natives proved cooperative, the Zambesi country was beautiful and fascinating in its wild life, and the relations between blacks and the few whites fairly good.

John Seymour argued the race question with all kinds of people. Sometimes it was pleading for the skimmed milk in addition to the "mealie" rations for native children on the farms, sometimes resenting the fact of ten times higher pay for himself as a white learner than that received by a skilled African miner. Again he seethed with indignation to find African shoppers forced to remain outside stores in Northern Rhodesia and "like lepers" purchase through a hatch in the wall!

What Seymour gets across is his liking and immense respect for the African character. It is the African's love of life, his power to laugh and sing—in short, his recuperative power—that will enable him to come at last into his own despite the worst the white man can do.

Nonviolence in South Africa

Episode in the Transvaal, first novel of a South African attorney, comes as sympathetic reading to pacifists stirred by the non-resistance of the Montgomery leaders. The book stands out for close se-

quence of events, psychological insight, excellent characterization, most of all for sheer drive.

Harry Bloom tells us that his elstroom location is a composite of shantytowns he has actually known. Here, at his novel's start, on the outskirts of the white town that wishes to ignore, but is all too conscious of the location's existence, thousands of blacks live festively behind barbed wire, their every movement subject to the white man's permit. Due to recent inefficiency, matters have got out of hand. Illicit stills, brawling, petty crime, are frequent. Too many men who work in the town are slipping in and out through the wire instead of showing passes at the gate.

Du Toit, the new superintendent, will crack down on lawbreakers, now the "niggers" who is master. Having left a similar job in Johannesburg under a cloud, he must make a success of this one. Also a firm hand will be for the blacks' good. But the loyalty to himself of a few willing to inform on their fellows, will be needed. His hand-picked native constables childishly green themselves in their new uniforms!

Into this situation, from a different Johannesburg comes Mabaso, young, powerful, intelligent—an African who has known the inside of jails, a veteran of the "Defiance campaign." At once he becomes leader of a small secret group, determined to win basic rights, but not like himself committed to non-violence.

A commonplace incident touches off the explosion. A shirt-collar belonging to a white man is lost, and the African laundress unjustly accused of theft. Resisting arrest, she is knocked senseless by white

police, and her husband killed fleeing their home. And now a series of events portrayed with power. Mabaso and his friends are unable to prevent the riot that follows Du Toit's most obnoxious order—viz., that women as well as men must show work passes. A peculiarly brutal raid is directed by the young police lieutenant, Swanepoel, perfect product of Apartheid tradition superimposed upon insecurity. Houses are fired into, men and women indiscriminately murdered, hundreds dragged off to the town's prison-pen. Whereupon the whole location goes mad in an orgy of destruction. Violence has begotten yet more violence.

The two Afrikaaners are skillfully contrasted — the sadistic Swanepoel and the aggressive but self-distrustful Du Toit, pitiable in his moral breakdown. Mabaso, more difficult to portray, is well realized. There is beauty in his reflections as he lies stretched full length in the prison yard, serenely awaiting the inevitable end. Have not he and his comrades given the thumbs-up victory sign, sung the song of deliverance? "*Mayibuye!*" they have shouted. "It will come!" they have cried.

—FRANCES WITHERSPOON

Portrait of a Saint

The Gandhi Reader. Edited by Homer A. Jack. Indiana University Press. 1956. xxiii + 532 pp. \$7.50.

FOR member Homer A. Jack, well-known Unitarian minister, has produced a genuine labor of love in *The Gandhi Reader*. The book is a compact chronicle of the Mahatma's life and teachings, much of it from Gandhi's own writings. Many other voices are also heard

here, including those of Nehru, Tagore, Bhave, Louis Fischer, Vincent Sheean, Romain Rolland, Margaret Sanger, Lord Linlithgow and John Haynes Holmes. The total effect of these brief articles is that of a moving mosaic spanning the events of seventy-nine years and patterning out the image of a modern saint and his works. Any person seeking an understanding of Gandhi would do well to begin with this book, and anyone who is already familiar with Gandhi's life will profit from delving into this treasury of source material. An added boon to Western readers is Mr. Jack's short glossary of Indian terms. —WILLIAM ROBERT MILLER

Misbegotten Moppet

The Strange Career of Jim Crow.
By C. Vann Woodward. Oxford, 1955. 155 pp. \$1.75.

Many Americans cannot remember a time when racial segregation was not the general rule, and they therefore assume that it has always existed. Actually, Jim Crow is a misbegotten moppet of recent vintage.

As Woodward points out in his *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*, the segregation statutes only started blossoming around 1900. They "extended to churches and schools, to housing and jobs, to eating and drinking, and ultimately to funeral homes, morgues and cemeteries. Atlanta had Jim Crow Bibles for Negro witnesses and

there were Jim Crow elevators for Negro passengers in Atlanta buildings." In the past decade the "old" system has been increasingly under attack, and many of the gains that have been made are discussed by Woodward.

A small monument of careful scholarship, the book comprises the James W. Richard lectures for 1954, given at the University of Virginia. For Americans living in the age of the Supreme Court ruling against public school segregation, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow* is a more than important primer on the hows, whys and whens of Jim Crow's inception.

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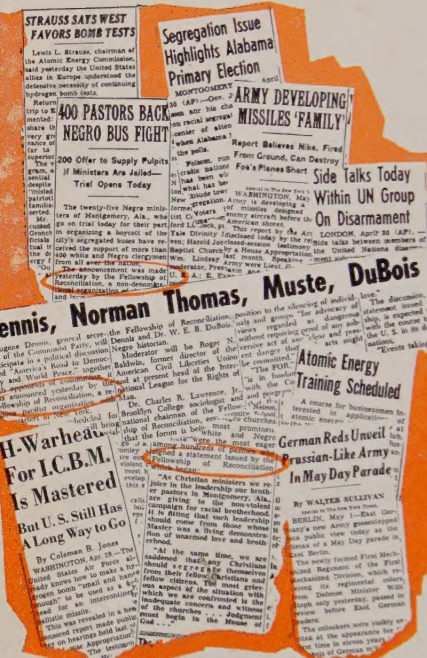


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behind the headlines

The newspapers these days are full of events that are of great concern to every member of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. Some of the headlines point up sharply the need for redoubled efforts in peace-making. Some of them indicate unprecedented public interest in the way of nonviolence. Others show that the FOR is making its voice heard through its wide program of workshops, forums, films and publications.

But what lies behind the headlines? What makes the headlines possible? It is the thousands upon thousands of rank-and-file FOR members who, by their financial contributions and their active participation are making the FOR grow, giving it vitality and effectiveness and planting the seed of tomorrow's pacifist room.

Who are these thousands? They are **you**—one individual, multiplied by many. The headlines tell the story of the many—do they tell the story of **your** membership too? Has your support of the FOR's work of nonviolence and love been what you would wish it to be? Have you spent as much as an hour a week talking it over with your friends? Have you enrolled a new member this year? On **your** answers to these questions depends the nature of tomorrow's headlines—and ultimately the possibility of peace and brotherhood in our time.

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